1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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grove fish are called out. The last is a variety of borer found in the trunks of mangrove trees and is Yiritja. The totemic emblem is then painted with yellow lines representing the totems.

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4. The leader directs that red ocher and white clay be sent to the main camp. One or more old men have been left in this camp to look out for the women and children. The old men direct the women while they paint. The women paint themselves to represent barrimundi and albatross (marn-ba), creatures associated with the sea tides and not the flood.

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Native Interpretation.—The association of quail with fire is interpreted by the Murngin: "Quail is the boss for fire and Narra time. We call out that one when it is time to light the fires and we carry his ranga. Quail has a ranga and he is in the Narra ceremony." The quail in Wongar days, according to myth, threw some fire about and burned his feathers. Further, the quail is usually found in the low brush when it is fired during the burning season.

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C. Third Dance Around the Ring of Women

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1. The same general outline of dancing is followed as in the Dua Narra; different animals and birds appear.
2. The totems are placed in the clan wells.
1. The men leave the ceremonial grounds and go to the main camp, calling out the big name of white clay:

"Bir-ka bir-ka bu-lor-mar-mar (white clay)
Bir-ka bir-ka gar-wa-wa (yellow paint stone)
Birka-bir-ka mar-ku-la (white bubbles caused by barrimundi biting at fish)."

When they arrive near the camp, leader and chorus sing "birka birka marnba [a sea bird]." Near the entrance to the camp two men dance marnba. One dances to the right, the other to the left. They both turn at the same time, retrace their steps, pass each other, repeat the figure a number of times, and then dance around the ring and are surrounded by the chorus.

The women by now are fully painted.

After dancing the marnba the men dance barrimundi and follow this with Yiritja honeybee. They then form a long file. An old man meanwhile has gathered the women into a ring. They are under their ainmaras. The men, with the spears in their hands, dance around the women. They are supposed to be dancing garrawark and sea foam

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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ILLUSTRATIONS

1 Two *nara* postulants emerge from the sacred shade on to the dancing ground, carrying a *rangga* on their shoulders. 16 796

2 Embracing the *rangga* on the sacred ground: one postulant lies between his companion's legs. 16

3 Left-hand panel: *djuda* and *mawulan rangga*; the former are arranged at each side, with three pairs of *mawulan* in the centre. These belong to the people who have issued from the Djanggawul Sisters. 17 532 733

Right-hand panel: Bildjiwuraroiju and Miralaidj, in the position taken for childbirth, with *rangga* folk streaming from them. Their eyes are wide open, with tears flowing; they wear waist-bands and head-bands, and on their arms are armlets with feathered pendants.

Female children are under the round fringed *ngainmara* mats, one at each side of both Sisters, while the male children are unprotected. Each group of people belongs to a certain region.

4 This whole drawing shows in detail various Djanggawul *nara* ceremonies. 17 532 796

From left to right:

First panel, bottom: arm-band dance.

above: the black *gagaga* bird perched on a rock at Walbinboi just outside Jelangbara.

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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medium can do. In this respect they are inseparable from that culture, expressing as they do something of the Aborigines' sense of the beautiful, their feeling of strength and sureness in the essential goodness and vividness of their own way of life. This is an important point, for as these poetic songs stand to-day they represent the achievement, not of individual men or women, but of the community as a whole. Moreover, this achievement does not belong to any one era, but is the culminative result of centuries of effort—how many, we shall probably never know.

The songs are an integral part of the Djanggawul myth and of its ritual, for these three elements are interdependent. The Djanggawul myth, as set out in Chapter 2, is rarely told by a story-teller; it is, rather, sung out, in the manner of the songs presented here and in following chapters. What is more, no *nara* ritual is performed without the accompaniment of these songs.

These songs are not merely traditional; they are also sacred, because each is essentially of divine 'composition'. They set out to describe in detail all the incidents that took place during the wanderings of the Djanggawul, from the time they left their spirit home at Bralgu until they reached the neighbourhood of Milingimbi.[1] There is a certain amount of repetition, beloved of the Aboriginal song man; there are 'inside' and 'singing' words, alternatives to those in everyday use, and a wealth of symbolic allusions. The language of the songs is not archaic or highly specialized, as found in some areas in reference to sacred singing, but is for the most part the ordinary language spoken by the people. This is interspersed with occasional sacred words, 'singing' words, or invocations used only in this context; but essentially the songs are constructed in such a way that all may understand them. They are sung according to a defined traditional rhythm, the words being abbreviated, lengthened or elaborated to meet the requirements of the tune, while the development of the theme proceeds graphically with the help of considerable detail.

These Djanggawul songs express the essence of ceremonial behaviour, and of the relevant mythology, and through them we understand the significance of the *dua nara* and of the Djanggawul cult. To appreciate them fully, it is necessary to understand thoroughly both the ritualistic background and the mythology, in conjunction with other facets of the cultural pattern of this area. While the song is in progress, participants and onlookers alike are reminded of the intent of the ritual—but not of that intent alone, for these sacred

[1] As mentioned elsewhere, this journey is extended in the Milingimbi version of the Djanggawul cycle.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
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any extent with the visitors, and Professor Lloyd Warner used such statements as a basis for his opinion that the Malay traders did not interfere with native women.[8] But the women themselves offer a different point of view, and so do the songs and stories which have survived to the present day. Men are often unwilling to admit that they themselves, or people of their group, were induced by threats or by liquor to barter their wives and daughters, or that they allowed them to go to the traders because of their ties of friendship and trading relations. Often they attempt to "cover up" the fact that certain people are half or part Macassan, by insisting that their light skin has a spiritual rather than a purely physical explanation. The women, however, are more candid, and many of the older ones among them openly regret the passing of the Indonesian traders. Such an apparent contradiction is not unusual in matters of this kind, when casual liaisons have been carried out over a long period and then brought suddenly to an end through pressure of external circumstances.

The contacts of these Baijini and Indonesian people may have influenced the temperament of the coastal Aborigines, for they are (broadly speaking) more hasty tempered and emotional than the southern and central Aborigines, given to aggressive displays of anger and elementary warfare. The physical effects, however, apart from the infusion of an alien strain in the Aboriginal stock, seem to have been negligible; their indulgence in alcoholic drinks appears to have had no effect upon their general well-being,[9] while venereal diseases are virtually unknown in this eastern region.[10] This contrasts with conditions at Goulburn Island and Oenpelli, in western Arnhem Land, where the prevalence of venereal diseases (especially gonorrhoea) seems to have led to a high incidence of sterility, and so to a declining birth rate. Western Arnhem Land Aborigines have a reputation of being sexually rather lax, whereas various writers have expressed the opinion that the eastern Arnhem Landers are less willing to trade their womenfolk and have consequently been better able to regulate their sexual relations with "outside" people. Actually this impression seems to have its origin in the fact that the sexual pattern of both societies shows certain differences. The one is